

Message Text

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SUBJECT: ENGLISH TEXT OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S ECLA SPEECH

FOLLOWING IS EMBARGOED UNTIL TIME OF DELIVERY.

"A NEW UNITY AND A NEW HOPE: ECONOMIC GROWTH WITH SOCIAL JUSTICE." (TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR DELIVERY WEDNESDAY MORNING, MAY 4, 1977, BY AMBASSADOR ANDREW YOUNG AT THE ECLA PLENARY, GUATEMALA CITY.)

THIS IS MY FIRST VISIT TO THIS BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY, WITH ITS HISTORY OF STRUGGLE TO FIND THE SOCIAL JUSTICE AND PEACE THAT IS SO MUCH THE CORE OF THE HISTORY OF ALL OUR NATIONS. I CAN ONLY RECORD HERE MY DEEP GRATITUDE AT THE WARMTH AND FRIENDSHIP THAT HAS BEEN EXTENDED TO ME BY BOTH OFFICIALS AND THE PEOPLE SINCE I HAVE BEEN HERE.

THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA HAS ACHIEVED A VERY SPECIAL STATURE IN THE MODERN WORLD. ECLA, AS THE OLDEST OF THE REGIONAL COMMISSIONS HAS ACTED AS A TRAIL
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BLAZER FOR THE OTHERS. IT REPRESENTS THE MOST ECONOMICALLY DYNAMIC OF THE DEVELOPING REGIONS OF THE MODERN WORLD, AND PROBABLY HAS THE GREATEST VARIETY OF ECONOMIC LEVELS IN IT. IT HAS LONG BEEN RECOGNIZED AS THE PACE-SETTER IN THE STILL EMERGING VISION OF WHAT A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER WOULD LOOK LIKE. IT WAS FROM THE REFLECTION AND RESEARCH OF ECLA THINKERS, HEADED BY THE

DISTINGUISHED DR. RAUL PREBISCH, THAT THE UNCTAD CONFERENCES CAME. ECLA HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT FOR ITS FEARLESSNESS IN PROMOTING THE INTERESTS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AND IN ITS INSISTENCE AT LOOKING AT THE FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL STRUCTURES OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. IT HAS DONE PIONEERING WORK ON THE INEQUALITIES OF A WORLD COMPOSED OF STATES AT VERY DIFFERENT LEVELS OF DEVELOPMENT.

INDEED, ECLA IS A SYMBOL OF OUR NEED FOR EACH OTHER, AND FOR INSTITUTIONS THAT SEEK TO INTEGRATE OUR SEPARATE VISIONS AND TRANSCEND OUR PAROCHIALISMS IN A NEW SYNTHESIS AND VISION OF THE TOTAL, COMMON GOOD. WE COME TOGETHER IN MEETINGS LIKE THIS ONE, AND HERE DISCOVER, IN OUR LABORS AND CONVERSATIONS WITH ONE ANOTHER, THAT NO NATION IS AN ISLAND, NO GOVERNMENT COMPLETELY AUTONOMOUS, AND THAT WE ALL ARE PART OF AN INTERLOCKING GLOBAL COMMUNITY. ECLA REPRESENTS THAT THIN BUT BRAVE LINE OF DEDICATED PERSONS WHO REPRESENT THE BRIDGE FROM THE CONTEMPORARY NEAR-WORLD ANARCHY TO THE HOPED FOR FUTURE WORLD COMMUNITY. ECLA IS THE HOPE, IN THE WORDS OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, THAT WE CAN CHOOSE THE COMMUNITY OF SHARED GOALS AND INTERESTS OVER THE CHAOS THAT MEANS DESTRUCTION.

NO REFERENCE TO ECLA TODAY WOULD BE COMPLETE WITHOUT PAYING TRIBUTE TO DR. ENRIQUE IGLESIAS. HIS IMAGINATION AND INTEGRITY, HIS TACT AND COURAGE, HAVE COMBINED TO MAKE HIM A PERSON ON WHO, WE ALL HAVE CO?E TO RELY.
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UNDER HIS LEADERSHIP, I BELIEVE THAT ECLA WILL CONTINUE ,O BUILD UPON ITS ALREADY SOLID HISTORY OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS, AND WILL GENERATE RESEARCH, PROGRAMS, IDEAS AND VISIONS THAT WILL INSPIRE AND CHALLENGE ALL OF US, AND PROVIDE US ,UCH OF WHAT WE NEED TO UE ABLE TO SERVE THE PEOPLE OF OUR HEMISPHERE BETTER. FOR MY PART, I WOULD APPRECIATE IT, DR. IGLESIAS, IF YOU WOULD ACCEPT THIS SPOKEN TOKEN OF MY ADMIRATION AND RESPECT FOR YOU AND YOUR CO-WORKERS, AND ASK IF YOU WOULD PASS ALONG THESE SENTIMENTS TO YOUR ASSOCIATES.

3. ,HE ,EANING OF OUR CO.,ON HISTORY--IN UNITY THERE IS HOPE

I HAVE COE IN RECENT MONTHS TO BELIEVE THAT WE ARE LIVING AT THE EARLY DAWNING OF A NEW PERIOD OF HOPE IN HU AN HISTORY--AFTER A PERIOD OF CONFUSION, STRUGGLE, AND OME DEPAIR. THIS NEW PERIOD OF HOPE IS ONE IN WHICH IT IS AGAIN REALISTIC TO BELIEVE THAT DEMOCRACY IS VIABLE,

THAT HUMAN RIGHTS CAN BE PROTECTED, AND THAT THE RULE OF LAW THROUGH INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS CAN BECOME MORE SIGNIFICANT. IT IS A PERIOD IN WHICH, IN SPITE OF ALL THE OBVIOUS PROBLEMS AND PITFALLS, WE CAN ONCE AGAIN DARE TO HOPE THAT WE CAN CONTINUE TO ROLL BACK COLONIALISM, ROLL BACK RACISM, CONTAIN THE ARMS RACE, AND ATTACK THE MAJOR ENEMY OF HUMANKIND--POVERTY--WITH SOME CONFIDENCE THAT WE CAN HAVE SOME EFFECT. WITHIN THE PAST FIVE YEARS WE HAVE SEEN FOUR SIGNIFICANT NATIONS RETURN TO OPEN, DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT WITHOUT BLOODY REVOLUTIONS: GREECE, PORTUGAL, SPAIN AND INDIA. WE HAVE SEEN THE DEEPENING OF THE WORLD'S CONSCIOUSNESS OF RACISM, IN SPITE OF THE EFFORTS BY SOME TO POLITICIZE FOR NATIONAL ADVANTAGE THIS HISTORICAL TASK OF ALL OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY. WE HAVE THE NEAR-ELIMINATION OF COLONIALISM IN AFRICA, WITH BUT A FEW REMAINS SOON TO FALL REMAINING. WE HAVE, AT LEAST AND AT LAST, COULD REALIZE THE PERIL TO US ALL OF THE ARM-

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AMENTS RACE, THAT AFFLICTS IN VARYING SCALES SO MANY NATIONS TODAY, ROBBING SOCIETIES OF VITAL ENERGIES AND RESOURCES THAT COULD AND SHOULD BE USED TO FEED THE HUNGRY AND NURSE THE SICK, AND TO BUILD SOCIETY AND FREEDOM RATHER THAN PREPARE FOR DOOMSDAY.

BUT, THIS NEW HOPE IN OUR TIME IS NOT AN AUTOMATIC THING THAT IS HAPPENING OVER OUR HEADS, SOMEWHERE OUT THERE MR. CHAIRMAN. IT IS SOMETHING THAT WE ARE CREATING, THAT WE MUST CREATE AND MAKE LIVE IF IT IS TO BE SUSTAINED, AND BECOME A POWERFUL, DRIVING FORCE IN OUR TIME. WE ALL UNDERSTAND THAT HOPE IS A POWERFUL MOTIVATING FORCE, THAT IT CAN AWAKEN THE MILLIONS FROM THEIR DESPAIR AND PASSIVITY, AND THAT, ONCE THEY BELIEVE THAT CHANGE IS POSSIBLE, THEY CAN BECOME A MIGHTY FORCE FOR SOCIAL CHANGE AND JUSTICE. THERE HAVE BEEN OTHER PERIODS OF SUCH HOPE IN THE PAST, MR. CHAIRMAN, PERIODS IN WHICH THERE WAS REAL CHANGE AND IN WHICH HUMANKIND BECAME--AT LEAST TO SOME DEGREE--MASTER OF ITS OWN DESTINY, AND CHOSE JUSTICE AND PEACE AND FREEDOM.

WE ALL LONG TO BE SEIZED BY A REALISTIC HOPE, AND TO BE PART OF SUCH A MIGHTY MOVEMENT THAT WOULD CHANGE THE LIVES OF MILLIONS FOR THE BETTER. OF COURSE, WE ALL ALSO REJECT THE ILLUSION OF CHOOSING HOPE ONLY TO FLEE FROM REALITY AND DESPAIR--HOPE MUST HAVE A BASIS, OR IT IS NO HOPE, BUT AN ILLUSION. WHAT, IN THE HISTORY OF OUR HEMISPHERE, HAVE BEEN THE CONDITIONS THAT MADE HOPE INSTEAD OF DESPAIR OR PASSIVITY A LIVING POSSIBILITY? AS I REVIEW THE HISTORY OF INTER-AMERICAN COOPERATION, I FIND THAT ONLY WHEN THE NATIONS OF THE HEMISPHERE HAVE AGREED UPON BASIC

GOALS AND PROGRAMS HAS THERE BEEN ,HAT POWERFUL SURGE OF HOPE, AMONG BOTH LEADERS AND MASSES ALIKE, THAT NOT ONLY MAKES MEANINGFUL SOCIAL CHANGE POSSIBLE, BUT WITHOUT WHICH POSITIVE SOCIAL CHANGE IS REALLY IMPOSSIBLE. WHO WILL ,AKE SACRIFICES, OR FROM WHENCE WILL COME THE NEW UNCLASSIFIED

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IDEAS, AND WHAT WILL BOND GREAT NUMBERS OF PEOPLE TOGETHER IN FAR-REACHING TASKS, UNLESS THERE IS THE BELIEF THAT CHANGE FOR THE BETTER IS POSSIBLE? IF WE WANT SOCIAL CHANGE, WE MUS, BELIEVE IT IS POSSIBLE. THIS IS AS TRUE FOR THE ECONOMIST AND THE AMBASSADOR AS IT IS FOR THE POOREST PEASANT.

AT OTHER TIMES IN THE HISTORY OF THE HEMISPHERE, WHEN THERE WAS LACKING THIS BELIEF THAT UNITY AND HOPE WERE POSSIBLE, THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THIS HEMISPHERE HAVE BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY SLOGANS AND CONFERENCES THAT WERE STERILE IN REAL RESULTS. FOR ALL THEIR GOOD INTENTIONS, TOO MANY PAST ATTEMPTS AT HEMISPHERIC COOPERATION TO BUILD JUSTICE AND FOR DEVELOPMENT DID NOT ACHIEVE THE WIDE ACCEPTANCE AND CREDIBILITY, AND THE MOMENTUM AMONG OUR PEOPLES, THAT ARE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY IF WE ARE TO AVOID THE IMPENDING CATASTROPHES THAT WILL ACCOMPANY CONTINUED UNPLANNED POPULATION GROWTH, SPIRALING INFLATION, MASS HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION, MASS UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT, THE CONTINUED GROWTH OF REPRESSION AND TERROR IN THE POLITICAL REALM, THE CONTINUED GROWTH OF THE GAP BETWEEN THE RICH AND THE POOR IN EVERY NATION, AND MASS ILLITERACY. INDEED, THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF STOPPING WHERE WE ARE, AND JUST AVOIDING CATASTROPHE. WE MUST EITHER MOVE FORWARD, BOLDLY AND HOPEFULLY, OR CONTINUE TO SLIDE TOWARDS EVER-WIDENING CIRCLES OF MISERY AND CATASTROPHE. THE REPETITION OF TRADITIONAL SLOGANS, AND THE RELIANCE ON TESTED BUT INADEQUATE IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS, WILL CONTINUE TO OCCUPY US WITHOUT, HOWEVER, OPENING UP THE NEW VISTAS WITHOUT WHICH WE CANNOT ACHIEVE MORE JUSTICE, FREEDOM AND PEACE FOR THE HEMISPHERE.

HOW CAN WE DYNAMIZE OUR INSTITUTIONS, AND OUR PEOPLES? HOW CAN WE CONSERVE WHAT IS GOOD, BUT BEGIN TO MOVE UNCLASSIFIED

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IRRESISTIBLY FORWARD, IN THE PURSUIT OF FULL JUSTICE

FOR EVERYONE? IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS CAMPAIGNS OF MY COUNTRY OF THE PAST FEW DECADES, WE WERE OFTEN FACED WITH TREMENDOUS OBSTACLES, CRITICISM, AND OPPOSITION. IN SUCH MOMENTS, BEFORE SUCH ODDS, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN EASY TO ABANDON THE PARTICULAR CAMPAIGN, TO RETREAT, TO COMPROMISE, TO BE INTIMIDATED. IN SUCH MOMENTS, OFTEN BEFORE WE WOULD GO OUT TO MARCH BEFORE A HOSTILE POPULACE AND POLICE, WE WOULD GATHER TOGETHER TO REDISCOVER AND REAFFIRM OUR UNITY OF PURPOSE, AND OUR MUTUAL COMMITMENT AND SUPPORT. IN THOSE MOMENTS WE FOUND NEW HOPE AND NEW STRENGTH, AND THAT WHICH AT THE BEGINNING OF OUR MEETING SEEMED IMPOSSIBLE BY THE TIME WE FILED OUT OF THE MEETING TO BEGIN TO MARCH, SEEMED INEVITABLE. WHAT FED US, AND KEPT US MARCHING, THROUGH MANY A LONG AND HOT DAY UNDER SOUTHERN SKIES, WAS HOPE. AND THAT HOPE BEGAN IN A RESOLUTE UNITY OF PURPOSE.

IF WE OF THIS HEMISPHERE CAN AGREE ON A COMMON VISION, ON A SET OF GOALS THAT TRANSCEND OUR OLD DIFFERENCES AND OUR DIVERSITY, WE SHALL DISCOVER IN OUR NEW UNITY OF PURPOSE A NEW INGREDIENT THAT WILL MULTIPLY THE EFFECT OF OUR EFFORTS--THE INGREDIENT OF A COMMON AND CONTAGIOUS HOPE. AND WHILE HOPE IS NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR HARD, CONCRETE PROGRAMS, FOR SACRIFICE AND WORK, IT CAN AND OFTEN IS THE MOTHER OF SUCH NEW PROGRAMS, AND SUSTAINS SACRIFICE AND HARD WORK. FOR HOPE CAN GIVE BIRTH TO IMAGINATION AND NEW IDEAS THAT CAN BREAK SEEMINGLY IMPOSSIBLE IMPASSES.

I BELIEVE THAT TOO OFTEN IN THE PAST WE HAVE BEEN AFRAID TO TRY NEW INITIATIVES AND TO EXPERIMENT WITH NEW IDEAS FOR FEAR OF FAILURE. CERTAINLY WE HAVE NOW REACHED THAT POINT IN HUMAN HISTORY WHERE THE CONSEQUENCES OF FAILING TO TRY TO DO SOMETHING ARE UNCLASSIFIED

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AT LEAST AS SERIOUS AND FAR-REACHING AS PROBABLY WILL BE THE CONSEQUENCES OF TRYING TO DO SOMETHING AND FAILING. WE NEED MORE IDEAS, MORE INITIATIVES, AND MORE COURAGE TO TRY, EVEN IF WE WILL SOMETIMES FAIL. AND FOR ONE OF THE LEADING ROLES IN THIS EFFORT TO DEVELOP NEW IDEAS AND PROGRAMS, TO LEAD THE HEMISPHERE IN THIS EFFORT, I PROPOSE ECLA. TOO OFTEN, IT SEEMS TO ME, THE UNITED STATES HAS TRIED TO TAKE OR PREEMPT LEADERSHIP IN THE HEMISPHERE WITHOUT SUFFICIENT MULTILATERAL CONSULTATION. HERE IN ECLA WE CAN GATHER TOGETHER NOT ONLY AS REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES, BUT AS EXPERTS OF MANY KIND, ALL CONCERNED WITH THE WELFARE AND

PROGRESS OF THE WHOLE HEMISPHERE. PROBABLY MORE INITIATIVES SHOULD COME FROM SUCH GROUPS AS THIS, FROM THE PROFESSIONAL STAFF OF GROUPS LIKE ECLA, HOPEFULLY RELYING ON THE INTELLIGENT AND PROMPT RESPONSE OF ALL THE MEMBER GOVERNMENTS TO PERFECT AND IMPLEMENT SUCH INITIATIVES. BUT IF ECLA IS TO BRING US THE NEW CONCRETE PROGRAMS THAT WE ALL WANT, AND THAT OUR HEMISPHERE SO DESPERATELY NEEDS, IT WILL NOT BE THE RESULT OF JUST MORE NEGOTIATIONS, MORE RESEARCH, AND MORE CONFERENCES. ALL OF THOSE ARE NECESSARY, BUT ONE THING MORE IS NECESSARY: A VISION, A DREAM AND A HOPE THAT ALL OF OUR EFFORTS CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE.

THIS IS A CALL FOR A NEW UNITY OF PURPOSE TO MOLD TOGETHER THE CONCEPTS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, A NEW UNITY WHICH, IF ACHIEVED, I AM CONVINCED WILL GIVE US A NEW VISION AND A NEW HOPE FOR OUR HEMISPHERE. BUT I WANT IT CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT SUCH A UNITY AS I BELIEVE IS NOT ONLY NECESSARY BUT POSSIBLE, IS A UNITY THAT RECOGNIZES AND EVEN FOSTERS THE GREAT AND BEAUTIFUL CULTURAL DIVERSITY OF OUR HEMISPHERE. UNITY DOES NOT MEAN UNIFORMITY, A COMMON PURPOSE DOES NOT MEAN WE MUST BECOME A HOMOGENIZED UNCLASSIFIED

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HEMISPHERE. INDEED, IN OUR DIVERSITY WE CAN ALL CONTRIBUTE IN DIFFERENT WAYS TO A UNITY OF PURPOSE THAT WILL ENRICH THE COMMON LIFE, AND STRENGTHEN WHAT IS GOOD IN EACH OF OUR CULTURAL TRADITIONS.

IT MAY JUST BE THE PREACHER IN ME, BUT I HONESTLY BELIEVE WE STAND ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW PERIOD OF HOPE, A PERIOD IN WHICH HUMANKIND WILL BE ABLE TO TAKE SOME STEPS FORWARD IN OUR NEVER-ENDING STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE, PEACE AND FREEDOM. WE HAVE BOTH THE NEED AND THE OPPORTUNITY, BOTH THE CHALLENGE AND THE POSSIBILITY, OF DISCOVERING AND ARTICULATING A NEW HEMISPHERIC UNITY, A NEW VISION BASED ON OUR OWN RECENT EXPERIENCE, THAT WILL GIVE BIRTH TO NEW HOPE, AND THUS TO POWERFUL CREATIVE DYNAMICS THAT WILL ENABLE US TO DO WHAT SEEMS IMPOSSIBLE TO DREAM OF AT THIS MOMENT. THE POTENTIAL FOR THIS NEW DEFINITION OF UNITY IS INHERENT IN OUR SHARED GOALS AND ASPIRATIONS AS STATED IN THE BASIC DOCUMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS THAT ARE WAITING TO BE REDISCOVERED, AND IN THE DREAMS AND ASPIRATIONS OF OUR PEOPLES, WAITING FOR SPOKESPERSONS TO MAKE THEM COME ALIVE. THERE IS AT THIS MOMENT, WAITING TO BE BORN, A NEW SYNTHESIS OF TWO POWERFUL IDEAS, A SYNTHESIS THAT ALL OF US HAVE FELT IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, MANY TIMES, IN OUR OWN LIVES. AND

HERE, AT ECLA, WE CAN CONTINUE THE PROCESS OF CREATING
THIS NEW SYNTHESIS.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THIS DYNAMIC NEW HOPE AND NEW UNITY
WILL BE NO EASY TASK--MANY THINGS MUST BE DONE TO
NURTURE AND GIVE FLESH AND BLOOD TO THE STILL DIMLY
SEEN DAWN OF HOPE I AM TRYING TO DESCRIBE. THE TASK
IN THIS TOTAL EFFORT THAT MOST DIRECTLY AFFECTS US HERE
IS THE INTEGRATION OF THE CONCEPTS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE
AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INTO A SINGLE VISION OF
HISTORICAL PROCESS. SUCH AN INTEGRATED VISION WOULD
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PROFOUNDLY AFFECT OUR ATTITUDES, OUR STYLES OF LIFE,
AND THE PROGRAMS WE PLAN, RESEARCH AND ADMINISTER.
SUCH AN INTEGRATED VISION WOULD BE THE BASIS FOR A
WORKING CONSENSUS BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES,
BETWEEN RICH AND POOR, BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH,
BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, AND BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES
AND LATIN AMERICA.

WE MUST UNITE THE CONCEPTS OF DEVELOPMENT (WHICH
USUALLY MEANS ECONOMIC GROWTH) WITH THE CONCEPT OF
LIBERATION (WHICH USUALLY MEANS FREEDOM FROM OPPRESSION,
POVERTY, DEPENDENCE AND DEGRADATION). THIS MUST BE
DONE BY DEFINING DEVELOPMENT IN TERMS OF THE PROCESS
BY WHICH FULL HUMAN RIGHTS AND DIGNITY ARE ACHIEVED,
BY WHICH FULL SOCIAL JUSTICE FOR ALL PEOPLES AND
ALL PERSONS IS REALIZED, RATHER THAN JUST AS AN
ECONOMIC PROCESS. IN THIS NEW DEFINITION WE CAN FIND
NEW GOALS, AND A NEW UNITY, THAT WILL UNITE THE
NORTH AND THE SOUTH, THE EAST AND THE WEST, RICH
AND POOR, ON SOME CRITICAL PROGRAMS FOR DEVELOPMENT
AND LIBERATION. SUCH A NEW DEFINITION AND A NEW UNITY
WILL APPEAL TO THE INTEREST AND CONSCIENCE OF ALL
OUR NATIONS AND PEOPLES.

IN APRIL, SPEAKING BEFORE THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
COUNCIL IN NEW YORK, I ARGUED THAT "ECONOMIC AND
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT CANNOT BE SEPARATED." I SAID
THAT "WE MUST THINK OF EVERY POSSIBLE WAY TO INCREASE
THE INTERFACE BETWEEN THE TWO APPROACHES--IN OUR
NATIONAL PLANNING, IN OUR BILATERAL COOPERATION
FOR DEVELOPMENT, AND IN OUR WORK OF THE UNITED
NATIONS..." YOU CAN REASONABLY EXPECT THAT THIS
IS A THEME TO WHICH NOT ONLY WILL I CONTINUE TO RETURN,
BUT WHICH THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IN THE UNITED STATES
AS A WHOLE WILL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP, AND TO INSIST
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UPON, NOT ONLY IN OUR INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES, BUT IN OUR DOMESTIC PROGRAMS AS WELL. FOR WE HAVE LEARNED, NOT ONLY BY OBSERVING THE SOMETIMES BITTER LESSONS OF WORLD HISTORY OF RECENT DECADES, BUT REPEATEDLY IN OUR OWN DOMESTIC EXPERIENCE, THAT SEPARATING THE ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS FROM THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL GOALS IS NOT ONLY AN ILLUSION, BUT THAT IT PRODUCES UNINTENDED AND HARMFUL EFFECTS FOR BOTH THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROCESS.

FOR INSTANCE, ONE THING WE HAVE LEARNED IS THAT IMPRESSIVE NATIONAL GROWTH RATES ALONE DO NOT MEAN THAT POVERTY OR ECONOMIC IMBALANCE WILL AUTOMATICALLY BE OVERCOME. PER CAPITA AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN MOST COUNTRIES HAS NOT INCREASED OVER THE PAST DECADE. POPULATION PROJECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE ARE STAGGERING-- THE REGION WILL ADD 300 MILLION PEOPLE, DOUBLING ITS POPULATION IN THE NEXT THREE DECADES. WE MUST ALL BE GREATLY CONCERNED OVER THE CONTINUED HIGH RATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT.

THERE HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANT ECONOMIC GROWTH IN MANY PARTS OF THE REGION DURING THE LAST THREE DECADES, AND YET, AS THE SECRETARIAT'S REPORT UNDERSCORES, THE FACT IS THAT THE BENEFITS OF THIS GROWTH HAVE NOT BEEN ANYWHERE

NEAR EQUAL, OR TO THOSE WHO ARE IN GREATEST NEED. THE PROBLEM OF THE "LITTLE MAN" IS CAMOUFLAGED BY LOOKING ONLY AT NATIONAL GROWTH RATES AND PER CAPITA INCOME FIGURES AS MEASURES OF "DEVELOPMENT." BY ANY STANDARD, THE MAJORITY OF THE REGION'S INHABITANTS DO NOT HAVE LEVELS OF LIVING THAT CAN BE CONSIDERED ACCEPTABLE. IN SPITE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH, HALF THE REGION'S POPULATION SUFFERS A SUBSTANDARD DAILY CALORIC INTAKE, AND A QUARTER OF ALL THE ADULTS ARE STILL ILLITERATE. ECONOMIC GROWTH, DIVORCED FROM

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SOCIAL CONSIDERATIONS AND THE GOALS OF JUSTICE AND FREEDOM.

FOR ALL, HAS OFTEN APPEARED TO EXACERBATED RATHER THAN DIMINISHED THE HUMAN MISERY AND DEGRADATION IN WHICH FAR TOO MANY OF OUR PEOPLE, IN EVERY NATION, STILL LIVE.

WE ARE ALL IN THE PROCESS OF LEARNING THAT SOCIETY CANNOT BE NEATLY DISSECTED INTO A "POLITICAL AND CIVIL" SEGMENT ON ONE SIDE, AND AN "ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL" SEGMENT ON THE OTHER. ANY ATTEMPT TO FOCUS EXCLUSIVELY ON ONE ASPECT OF SOCIETY'S PROBLEMS--SUCH AS THE NEED FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH--IGNORING THE OTHER, WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY PRODUCE UNEXPECTED AND UNDESIRE EFFECTS ON ALL OF SOCIETY. NEITHER CAN IT BE ASSUMED THAT BY PROMOTING ONE ASPECT OF SOCIETY, SUCH AS CIVIL RIGHTS, THAT POLITICAL RIGHTS WILL JUST NATURALLY EVOLVE.

WHEN THE BASIC DOCUMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS TALK ABOUT "HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS," THEY SPELL OUT THE FULL PANOPLY OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS--CIVIL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL. NO SOCIETY IS HEALTHY THAT IS NOT CONSCIOUSLY STRIVING TO REALIZE MORE FULLY ALL OF THESE RIGHTS, ALL OF THE TIME. TOO OFTEN IN THE PAST HAVE WE IMAGINED THAT BY JUST INCREASING THE SIZE OF THE CAKE, ITS BETTER DISTRIBUTION FOR ALL WOULD BE AUTOMATICALLY REALIZED. "TRICKLE-DOWN" AS A SOCIAL THEORY IS INCREASINGLY A CRUEL JOKE, AS MODERN TECHNOLOGIES IMPACT ON ALL OF OUR SOCIETIES IN SUCH A WAY AS TO TEND TO RE-CONCENTRATE POWER RATHER THAN TO DIFFUSE IT.

THE "NO-GROWTH" MOVEMENT MAY BE SEEN PARTLY AS A UNCLASSIFIED

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REACTION TO THE INSENSITIVITY OF THOSE WHO THOUGHT THAT GROWTH WOULD AUTOMATICALLY BRING EVERYTHING ELSE WITH IT. THE "NO-GROWTH" MOVEMENT IGNORED ONE OF THE BASIC MANDATES OF SOCIETY: CREATE AND GROW OR DIE. HEALTHY SOCIAL CHANGE CERTAINLY INCLUDES SOME FORM OF GROWTH AND PROCESS.

SUCH A NEW INTEGRATION OF TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS AS I AM HERE CALLING FOR MAY HELP US BREAK THE STERILE IMPASSE BETWEEN "CAPITALISM" AND "SOCIALISM" THAT HAS FOR SEVERAL GENERATIONS SERVED AS A ANESTHETIC TO IMAGINATION AS WE WERE ALL CAUGHT UP IN ONE RIGIDITY OR ANOTHER. THE TRUTH IS, FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS SEEM TO BE VICTIMIZED BY GOVERNMENTS AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS IN ANY SOCIETY THAT DOES NOT HAVE ADEQUATE INSTITUTIONS OF SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY

BUILT INTO ITS SYSTEM. AND THE TRUTH IS THAT ANY INSTITUTION THAT HAS BECOME SOCIALLY ACCOUNTABLE

CAN SERVE THE COMMON GOOD. EVEN THE MUCH-MALIGNED TRANS-NATIONAL CORPORATION, SOME OF WHICH HAVE UNDOUBTEDLY CONTRIBUTED TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS, CAN-- AND HAVE ON OCCASION--BECOME INSTRUMENTS OF HELPFUL DIFFUSION OF TECHNOLOGY, THE ALLOCATION OF DEVELOPMENT RESOURCES, AND THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE. IT MAY NOT BE SO MUCH THE NAME OF THE SYSTEM, AS WHETHER OR NOT IT IS EFFECTIVELY ACCOUNTABLE TO THE PUBLIC THAT DETERMINES ITS SOCIAL USEFULNESS.

SOCIAL JUSTICE CERTAINLY CANNOT BE ACHIEVED IN ALMOST ANY NATION WITHOUT ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT. ON THE OTHER HAND, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BY ITSELF, WE HAVE LEARNED, DOES NOT AUTOMATICALLY PRODUCE SOCIAL JUSTICE. I AM A PROFESSIONAL "CHANGE AGENT," WORKING FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE IN MY COUNTRY FOR MANY YEARS, BUT I DON'T KNOW NEARLY ENOUGH ABOUT ECONOMICS.

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MOST OF YOU ARE PROFESSIONAL ECONOMISTS, OR PLANNERS. I DARE SAY YOU NEED TO LEARN SOME OF THE LESSONS OF THE NATURE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE. WE NEED EACH OTHER, TO CREATE THIS NEW VISION, THIS NEW HOPE, THIS NEW UNITY. IT WILL BE A STRUGGLE TO LEARN FROM EACH OTHER, AND TO UNLEARN SOME OF OUR PET PREJUDICES AS WE DEVELOP THIS NEW, INTEGRATED VISION OF SOCIETY. BUT OUT OF THAT STRUGGLE MANY EXCITING THINGS WILL BE BORN.

THIS INTEGRATION OF THE TWO VISIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IS SO IMPORTANT, LET ME SUMMARIZE BY ATTEMPTING TO GIVE TWO APHORISMS:

WHERE THERE IS POVERTY (LACK OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT), THERE CANNOT BE FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND FREEDOM.

WHERE THERE IS POLITICAL OPPRESSION, THERE WILL ALSO BE ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION.

THEREFORE, BOTH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND POLITICAL LIBERTY ARE ESSENTIAL, EACH FOR THE GOOD AND HEALTH OF THE OTHER, AS WELL AS A GOOD THING IN ITSELF. LET US, THEN, UNITE THE TWO SO LONG DIVIDED, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND IN SO DOING HELP GIVE NEW HOPE TO MILLIONS OF PEOPLE WHO AWAIT OUR EFFORTS IN HELPLESSNESS.

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION IN MY OWN COUNTRY FOR THE PAST DECADE HAS REPRESENTED A SEARCH FOR UNITY

BETWEEN DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. MANY OF
THE "DEVELOPMENT" ISSUES WE HAVE CONFRONTED STEM
FROM OUR SEARCH FOR A SYSTEM THAT PERMITS LIBERATION
AND DEVELOPMENT FOR EACH INDIVIDUAL. WE HAVE SOUGHT--
AND CONTINUE TO SEEK--DEVELOPMENT, AND LIBERATION,
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IN MANY WAYS:

-- ECONOMICALLY, THROUGH THE WAR ON POVERTY AND
SOCIAL LEGISLATION;

-- SOCIALLY, THROUGH CIVIL AND WOMENS' RIGHTS
MOVEMENTS;

-- AND POLITICALLY, THROUGH INCREASED ATTENTION BY
THE CONGRESS AND THE COURTS TO THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS
AND GROUPS OF INDIVIDUALS NORMALLY OUTSIDE THE "POWER
ELITES" BUT WHOSE INTERESTS ARE AFFECTED BY LEGIS-
LATION AND POLITICAL DECISIONS.

5. THE OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS AND UNITY

REAL HOPE, AS AN ENGINE OF SOCIAL CHANGE, IS NEVER AN
ABSTRACTION, BUT ALWAYS DIRECTED TO A REAL PROBLEM, AND
OFFERS A REAL SOLUTION. TO AVOID SPINNING A DREAM-WORLD
OF PRETTY WORDS, WE MUST ALWAYS MAINTAIN THE TENSION BE-
TWEEN OUR HOPE, AND THE PROBLEMS THAT CONFRONT US. THE
PROBLEMS OF LATIN AMERICA -- THE REAL, HUMAN PROBLEMS --
ARE NOT LATIN AMERICAN PROBLEMS: THEY ARE WORLD-WIDE
PROBLEMS. THE REAL DIMENSIONS OF THESE PROBLEMS IS
OBSCURED WHEN WE USE ONLY THE MACRO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS,
AND MEASURE THE PERFORMANCE OF SOME SYSTEM IN ONLY ECONO-
MIC TERMS. BUT THE MERE ENUMERATION OF THE MASSIVE PROB-
LEMS CONFRONTING ALL OF OUR NATIONS SHOWS ONCE AGAIN THAT
ONLY A UNIFIED APPROACH, SEEKING BOTH THE GOALS OF LIBER-
ATION AND DEVELOPMENT, CAN HOPE TO ADDRESS THESE QUESTIONS
MEANINGFULLY.

THE OBJECTIVE PROBLEMS ARE CLEAR AND MANY OF THEM ARE AD-
DRESSED IN THE ECLA SECRETARIAT'S REPORTS FOR THIS MEETING:

-- POVERTY AND MALNUTRITION ARE THE VISIBLE SYMBOLS OF
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UNDERLYING PROBLEMS. THE SECRETARIAT HAS REPORTED TO US

THAT 43 PER CENT OF LATIN AMERICA'S POPULATION, OR 110 MILLION INDIVIDUALS, LIVE IN A STATE OF POVERTY. A SUBSTANTIAL PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION--PERHAPS AS MUCH AS 35 PER CENT LACKS SUFFICIENT INCOME TO PURCHASE A MINIMUM BALANCED DIET.

-- POPULATION GROWTH CONTRIBUTES TO THE DIFFICULTIES OF ADDRESSING THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY. LATIN AMERICA WAS THE POPULATION BELLWETHER FOR THE WORLD THROUGH THE 60'S AND EARLY 70'S. ITS POPULATION DOUBLED BETWEEN 1950 AND 1970--IT WILL DOUBLE AGAIN BEFORE THE YEAR 2000. THE SECOND DOUBLING WILL OCCUR EVEN THOUGH THE GROWTH RATE HAS PEAKED BELOW THE 3 PER CENT LEVEL AND WILL DECLINE THROUGHOUT THE REST OF THE CENTURY.

-- EXISTING PROBLEMS OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDER-EMPLOYMENT HAVE EXACERBATED MIGRATION OF THE RURAL POOR TO URBAN AREAS. BECAUSE OF DIFFERENCES IN METHODOLOGIES, IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO ASSIGN A FIGURE TO REGIONAL UNDER-UTILIZATION OF MANPOWER--BUT THERE IS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE 28 PER CENT ESTIMATE OF THE SECRETARIAT IS TOO

HIGH.

-- A GROWING UNEVENNESS IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME POSES THE SPECTER OF INCREASED CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER, AND OF THE BENEFITS THAT DERIVE FROM IT, SUCH AS EDUCATION AND JOBS. SEVENTY PER CENT OF THE INCREASED INCOME OF THE REGION BETWEEN 1960 AND 1970 WENT TO THE RICHEST 30 PERCENT IN THE LATIN AMERICAN REGION. LESS THAN ONE PER CENT WENT TO THE POOREST TWENTY PER CENT.

-- ILLITERACY AND LACK OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY REMAIN SERIOUS PROBLEMS. AN ESTIMATED 25 PER CENT OF THE ADULT POPULATION CANNOT READ AND WRITE AND, PERHAPS MORE IMPOR-

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TANT, THE STUDIES THAT DO EXIST INDICATE THAT EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IS NOT EQUALLY AVAILABLE. IT REMAINS TRUE THAT THE POORER THE STUDENT THE LESS LIKELY HE IS TO OBTAIN EVEN A MINIMAL EDUCATION. PROVISION OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY, THEREFORE, IS A MAJOR CHALLENGE.

THERE IS ALSO REASON TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT THE ALARMING LOSS OF MOMENTUM IN PROGRESS TOWARDS RULE BY CONSTITUTIONAL LAW, AND PROTECTION AND PROMOTION OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS. THE REASONS FOR THIS TREND ARE MANY, AND THERE IS NO CLEAR, SINGLE CAUSE, OR REMEDY. NONETHELESS, THE GREAT NUMBER OF ALLEGATIONS OF TORTURE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, "DESAPARECIDOS," POLITICAL

ASSASSINATION, CANNOT BUT BE A DISCONCERTING FACTOR IN ANY SEARCH FOR UNITY OF PURPOSE, ESPECIALLY SINCE THE WHOLE UNITED NATIONS STRUCTURE IS BUILT UPON THE PREMISE THAT SOCIETIES SHOULD BE GOVERNED BY LAW, THROUGH ORDERLY PROCESSES, AND NOT ARBITRARILY.

THE TRUTH IS MR. CHAIRMAN THAT TORTURE AND OTHER FORMS OF POLITICAL REPRESSION ARE NOT ONLY IN VIOLATION OF OUR OWN NATIONAL COMMITMENTS TO THE UNITED NATIONS, BUT ARE ALSO MAJOR OBSTACLES TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE. REPRESSION PREVENTS THE FULL POPULAR PARTICIPATION WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO EVERY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS, REGARDLESS OF THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM WHICH GUIDES IT. WE CANNOT, AS NATIONS OR AS A BODY OF NATIONS, BE TRULY EFFECTIVE AGENTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, UNTIL WE CAN ENLIST THE TALENTS AND CAPACITIES OF ALL OF THE PEOPLE WE REPRESENT HERE - WHETHER THE BLACK SHARECROPPER OF GEORGIA, THE INDIAN OF THE ANDEAN ALTIPLANO - OR THE PROFESSIONAL MAN WHO HAS LEFT HIS NATIVE LAND BECAUSE OF POLITICAL REPRESSION - THE SADDEST FORM OF "BRAIN DRAIN" OF ALL. THERE CAN BE NO REAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WITHOUT A FREE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS AND A REAL ACCOUNTABILITY OF THE ELITES WHO MANAGE SOCIETY NO MATTER HOW WELL-INTENTIONED THEY MAY BE.

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WE, AS SPECIALISTS IN DEVELOPMENT, CANNOT ALLOW OURSELVES TO MEET IN THESE PLEASANT AND COMFORTABLE SURROUNDINGS, WELL-FED AND SECURE AS WE ALL ARE, WITHOUT REMINDING OURSELVES OF THOSE VOICES OF IMPATIENCE AND MISERY WHO HAVE BEEN SILENCED BY FEAR, BY INTIMIDATION, AND BY TORTURE, WHO OUGHT TO BE HEARD HERE. EVERY TIME THAT WE IMAGINE WE CAN APPLY PURELY "ECONOMIC" CRITERIA TO ACHIEVE "DEVELOPMENT," WITHOUT TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE GREAT DREAM AND NEED FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE, LET US INVITE TO THIS MEETING HALL SOME OF THOSE ANGRY VOICES, WHO SEEK TO SPEAK FOR THOSE WHOM WE OFTEN THINK OF AS BEAUTIFULLY PATIENT, BUT WHO ARE IN REALITY ONLY MUTE BECAUSE OF FEAR, HOPELESSNESS, ILLNESS, AND MALNUTRITION. WE CANNOT BE A TRULY EFFECTIVE AGENCY FOR SOCIAL CHANGE FOR JUSTICE, MR. CHAIRMAN, UNTIL WE RECOGNIZE THE LEGITIMACY OF THE CRIES FOR JUSTICE OF OUR PEOPLE, AND UNTIL WE HEAR THE CRIES OF OUR PEOPLE. AND THOSE CRIES OF DESPAIR AND MISERY CANNOT BE ADEQUATELY HEARD UNTIL THE VOICES OF PROTEST AND ASPIRATION ARE ALLOWED TO SPEAK FULLY AND FREELY, MR. CHAIRMAN. THERE IS NO ELITE IN THE WORLD, MR. CHAIRMAN, NO MATTER HOW MUCH OF A SENSE OF NOBLESSE OBLIGE, THAT CAN BE TRUSTED WITH THE COMMON WELFARE OF THE TOTAL CITIZENRY OF A NATION WITHOUT THE CHECKS, BALANCES AND CRITICISMS OF A FREE AND INFORMED CITIZENRY.

PARTICIPATION IS NECESSARY FOR EVERY FORM OF SOCIAL PROGRESS. IT IS NOT THE GOAL OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, IT IS ITS PRECONDITION AS WELL: SOCIAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT DEPEND, FOR THEIR HEALTHY PROGRESS, UPON A FREE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS. AND THERE CAN BE NO FREE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS, NO REAL ACCOUNTABILITY OF THE ELITES WHO MANAGE SOCIETY, WHEN VOICES OF DISSENT AND PROTEST ARE SILENCED THROUGH TORTURE AND OTHER MEANS OF POLITICAL REPRESSION.

THOUGH WE MAY NOT BE ABLE TO AGREE ALL THE TIME ON WHAT
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SHOULD BE DONE, NOR EVEN ON THE CAUSES OF THE PROBLEMS THAT WE FACE, SURELY WE CAN AGREE THAT THESE ARE OUR MAJOR PROBLEMS. FURTHERMORE, THAT THESE PROBLEMS ARE THE CONCERN OF THE ECONOMIST AS WELL AS THE POLITICIAN, AND THAT ONLY A GLOBAL VISION OF SOCIETY WILL ENABLE US TO ATTACK ANY OF THESE PROBLEMS WITH ANY HOPE OF SUCCESS. UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND POLITICAL REPRESSION ARE SURELY PART OF THE SAME, TOTAL PROBLEM.

THESE PROBLEMS -- OF GROWING UNEVENNESS IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME, OF ILLITERACY, OF POVERTY, OF MALNUTRITION, OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT, OF UNPLANNED POPULATION GROWTH, AND OF POLITICAL REPRESSION -- EXIST OF COURSE IN ALL NATIONS TO SOME DEGREE. THEY ARE NOT JUST PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS, OR OF THE LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS. BUT IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT THE COUNTRIES OF THE ECLA REGION HAVE RECOGNIZED MANY OF THESE PROBLEMS, AND ARE ACTIVELY SEARCHING FOR SOLUTIONS. WHAT IS NEEDED NOW IS AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO ALL OF THESE PROBLEMS, THAT WILL GIVE COHERENCE TO ALL OUR PROGRAMS. AND, AS HAS OFTEN HAPPENED IN THE RECENT PAST, THE STRUGGLES AND SUCCESSES OF THE ECLA REGION WILL BE WATCHED AND LEARNED FROM WITH GREAT EAGERNESS BY OTHER REGIONS OF THE WORLD. IN MANY WAYS, THE NEW WORLD IS THE TEST-TUBE OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

U.S.-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS AND THE SEARCH FOR A NEW UNITY: U.S. RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA HAVE SOMETIMES BEEN, OR SEEMED TO BE, AN OBSTACLE TO THE REALIZATION OF FULL DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL JUSTICE FOR THE HEMISPHERE. BUT I WANT TO CONTEND HERE THAT THERE IS, IN OUR DIVERSITY OF EXPERIENCE, RESOURCES AND EVEN VALUES, GREAT POTENTIAL FOR A NEW UNITY THAT RESPECTS OUR MANY DIVERSE NATIONAL HERITAGES. FOR, WE ALL NOW CERTAINLY RECOGNIZE, THE HEMISPHERE IS FAR TOO COMPLEX TO BE SIMPLY DIVIDED INTO TWO CATEGORIES--
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THE UNITED STATES, AND ALL OTHERS. JAMAICA IS AS DIFFERENT FROM ARGENTINA, AND AGAIN FROM THE UNITED STATES, AS IS VENEZUELA FROM CHILE AND MEXICO. CANADA, AND PANAMA, AND ECUADOR ARE DIFFERENT, AND YET ALL HAVE MUCH TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE COMMON QUEST. AND, EACH OF OUR NATIONS IS ITSELF A SEA OF COMPLEXITY, WITH ITS OWN DIVERSITIES AND RICHNESS. AND SO WE CELEBRATE AND DO NOT HIDE OUR DIVERSITY. STILL, BECAUSE IT IS THE RICHEST AND MOST POWERFUL NATION IN THE HEMISPHERE--THOUGH MAYBE NOT AS POWERFUL AND

RICH AS SOME BELIEVE--IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO SAY A WORD ABOUT U.S.-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS....

IT IS NECESSARY AT FIRST TO AFFIRM THAT ALL OF US ARE PART OF A GLOBAL COMMUNITY, FROM WHICH WE CANNOT SECEDE, EVEN IF WE WANTED. AS PART OF THIS COMMUNITY, WE MUST ACT THE PART OF WORLD CITIZENS, AND NOT JUST PROTECT OR PROMOTE THE INTERESTS OF THE HEMISPHERE. THERE CERTAINLY IS A ROLE FOR CREATIVE REGIONALISM, WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE WHOLE UNITED NATIONS FRAMEWORK. BUT WE ARE PART OF ONE WORLD--ALL THE REPUBLICS OF THIS HEMISPHERE.

SECONDLY, THERE IS AN EVER GREATER NEED FOR MORE AND MORE OPEN CONSULTATION, ON ALL MATTERS OF COMMON CONCERN, FROM TRADE AGREEMENTS TO POLLUTION OF THE SEAS, FROM HUMAN RIGHTS TO ARMS CONTROL, FROM EXCHANGE OF SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION TO CONTROL OF NARCOTICS TRAFFIC. LET US ACTIVELY PROMOTE AND DEVELOP ALL THESE CONSULTATIONS, AWARE THAT SOMETIMES THERE WILL BE CONFLICT, BUT THAT, IN THE LONG RUN, WE WILL ALL GAIN MORE IF WE TALK OPENLY AND HONESTLY.

AND LASTLY, THAT EVEN THOUGH THE UNITED STATES MAY BE IN SOME WAYS THE RICHEST AND MOST POWERFUL NATION IN THE

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HEMISPHERE, IT HAS NO MONOPOLY ON IDEAS, AND SHOULD HAVE NO MONOPOLY ON INITIATIVES. IT WOULD BE A FOOLISH

CONTINUATION OF DEPENDENCE TO AWAIT UPON THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO PROPOSE ALL THE INITIATIVES. LET MANY INITIATIVES BLOOM, AND LET THE UNITED STATES BE ONE OF MANY SOVEREIGN NATIONS, MAKING ITS CONTRIBUTION,

BUT NOT DOMINATING IN ANY SENSE THE INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE.

THERE HAVE BEEN TIMES IN THE PAST WHEN WE IN THE UNITED STATES FELT THAT OUR STRENGTH AND DETERMINATION MADE ALL THINGS POSSIBLE AND THAT WHAT WORKED FOR US WOULD SURELY WORK FOR ANY OTHER NATION. WE HAVE LEARNED, HOWEVER, THAT WE CANNOT SOLVE THE WORLD'S PROBLEMS, OR THE HEMISPHERE'S, AND THAT "MADE IN THE USA" DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN THAT IT WILL WORK IN LATIN AMERICA. PROGRESS MUST DEPEND ON A DEGREE OF CONSENSUS AMONG NATIONS, AND THIS CONSENSUS CAN ONLY BE BUILT WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL NATIONS, AND DOMINATION BY NONE. THE PROBLEMS WE FACE ARE COMMON PROBLEMS--THEY ARE NOT CAUSED BY ANY ONE FACTOR, NOR ARE THEY LIMITED TO ANY ONE NATION, OR GROUP OF NATIONS. THE UNITED STATES IS, INDEED, PART OF THE PROBLEM-- BUT IT IS NOT THE WHOLE CAUSE OF THE PROBLEM, ANY MORE THAN IT CAN OFFER THE WHOLE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM. WE ARE A NATION THAT HAS HAD TO STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE WHATEVER MEASURE OF JUSTICE, EQUALITY AND FREEDOM WE HAVE, AND WE ARE STILL STRUGGLING TO IMPROVE WHAT WE HAVE. WE WELCOME HONEST CRITICISMS AND SUGGESTIONS, FOR WE REALIZE THAT WE NEED THE HELP OF THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE MORE OF OUR FULL POTENTIAL AS A NATION.

THE SETTING OF PRIORITIES TO MOVE FORWARD: ANY MEANINGFUL PLAN MUST HAVE A STARTING POINT. NOW, NEAR THE UNCLASSIFIED

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END OF THIS ADDRESS, I REACH THE STARTING POINTS I WANT TO SUGGEST. UP UNTIL NOW I HAVE TRIED TO SET THE STAGE, AND SUGGEST THE ATTITUDE AND VALUES THAT WE MUST HAVE IF WE ARE TO BECOME TRULY EFFECTIVE AGENTS FOR JUSTICE AND DEVELOPMENT. NOW, I WANT TO SUGGEST WHAT WE CAN DO.

FIRST WE MUST WORK OUT THE FULL IMPLICATIONS OF UNIFYING THE CONCEPTS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. ALL OF US WILL HAVE TO CHANGE SOME OF OUR PET THEORIES AND PREJUDICES, AS WE DELVE INTO THIS MATTER. IN PART, BECAUSE SOCIETY KEEPS CHANGING, TECHNOLOGY KEEPS DEVELOPING, AND NEW PROBLEMS KEEP ARISING. MANY OF OUR INSTITUTIONS AND PROGRAMS WILL HAVE TO BE RE-EXAMINED, AND SOME OF THEM REDONE. BUT TO FAIL TO DO SO WOULD BE TO BE UNFAITHFUL TO THE MANDATE OF ANY GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL, TO CARE FOR THE WELFARE OF OUR PEOPLES.

I HAVE ALREADY PROPOSED, AND NOW REPEAT HERE, THAT ECLA

IS A COMMUNITY THAT CAN AND SHOULD, IN MY OPINION, TAKE THE LEAD IN THE MELDING OF THE CONCEPTS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. I HOPE THAT ECLA WILL CONSIDER A SERIES OF CONFERENCES, PERHAPS ON A NATIONAL OR REGIONAL BASIS, TO DISCUSS THESE ISSUES, THAT WILL BE OPEN TO ALL SECTORS OF SOCIETY AND ALL POLITICAL CURRENTS. TO FIND THE ANSWERS THAT WE ALL NEED, WE WILL NEED TO BROADEN THE DIALOGUE -- A DIALOGUE THAT ECLA HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN NOW FOR MANY YEARS.

SECONDLY WE MUST SET PRIORITIES FOR OURSELVES. WE CANNOT ATTACK FRONTALLY ALL OF THE PROBLEMS THAT HAVE BEEN MENTIONED, AT LEAST WITHOUT DOOMING OURSELVES TO INEVITABLE FAILURE AND FRUSTRATION. WHILE HAVING A UNIFIED PICTURE OF THE PROBLEMS, AND A UNIFIED VISION OF JUSTICE AND FREEDOM, WE MUST CHOOSE THE PROBLEMS THAT WILL HAVE, IF SOLVED, THE GREATEST IMPACT ON THE LIVES OF OUR PEOPLE, UNCLASSIFIED

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AND THAT WILL OPEN UP THE NEXT STEP IN OUR LONG QUEST FOR LIBERATION AND DEVELOPMENT. THIS PROCESS OF SETTING PRIORITIES IS AN ON-GOING ONE, AND ONE IN WHICH ECLA HAS AN IMPORTANT ROLE. FOR ECLA IS ONE OF OUR PRINCIPAL "THINK TANKS", AND AS SUCH SHOULD BE PROTECTED AND ENCOURAGED. THE DEBATE ON PRIORITIES, BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE ECLA, WILL OFTEN BE STRENUOUS. BUT IT IS NECESSARY. AND OUT OF OUR DISAGREEMENTS WILL OFTEN ARISE A NEW CONSENSUS.

IN MY RECENT SPEECH AT ECOSOC I PROPOSED THAT THE BODY MIGHT WELL WANT TO SEE FOR ITSELF SOME PRIORITIES SO AS TO FOCUS ITS EFFORTS. SPECIFICALLY, I PROPOSED THE PROBLEMS OF HUNGER AND FAMINE, TORTURE AND OTHER SEVERE FRMS OF POLITICAL REPRESSION, AND RACISM. IT ;AY WELL BE THAT ECLA WILL DECIDE THAT THESE, OR SOME OF THESE SHOULD NOT BE THE PRIORITIES FOR THIS REGION.

LET US NOT PREDICT WHAT WILL BE THE OUTCOME OF A PROCESS ,HAT I HOPE WILL GATHER MO ENTU,, BUILDING ON THE EXCELLENT WORK ALREADY BEGUN. ONLY, IN THE SETTING OF PRIORITIES, LET US REMEMBER THAT IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT BOTH THE SOCIAL JUSTICE AND THE ECONO?IC DEVELOP,ENT GOALS BE FULLY REPRESENTED.

THIRDLY, WE MUST CHOOSE PROGRAMS THAT GIVE RELIEF TO THE POOREST AND MOST MISERY-BURDERNED OF OUR PEOPLE.AS PRESIDENT CARTER INDICATED IN HIS SPEECH BEFORE THE O.A.S. ON APRIL 14--'ALL OF US HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILI Y TO HELP HE HOOREST COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD AS WELL AS THE

POOREST PEOPLE IN EACH OF OUR COUNTRIES." AS WE HAVE
ALREADY INDICATED, DEDICATION TO SOME MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT
THAT, DOES NOT HELP REAL PEOPLE IN A SIGNIFICANT WAY IS A
DENIAL OF OUR VERY REASON TO EXIST AS GOVERNMENTS. IN THE
UNITED STATES, WE INCREASINGLY HAVE TO ANSWER THE QUESTION,
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WHY SHOULD THE POOR OF THE UNITED STATES BE TAXED TO HELP
THE RICH OF THE POOR NATIONS?" I AM CONVINCED THAT THE
TAXPAYERS OF THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT
FOREIGN AID PROGRAMS AS LONG AS THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT
THESE PROGRAMS ARE REALLY HELPING THE POOR TO HELP THEM-
SELVES.

FOURTHLY, WE MUST STRUGGLE TO BECOME MORE ACCOUNTABLE
AS GOVERNMENTS BY BRINGING THE PEOPLE MORE AND MORE INTO
OUR DELIBERATIONS. WE MUST CARRY ON MORE OF OUR DIS-
CUSSIONS WITH AND BEFORE THE PUBLIC. WE MUST BECOME BOTH
EDUCATORS FOR OUR NATIONS, AND STUDENTS OF OUR PEOPLE.
RECENTLY PRESIDENT CARTER HAS MADE SEVERAL EFFORTS TO
TRAVEL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, TO TALK DIRECTLY TO AVERAGE
CITIZENS. THIS IS NO PUBLIC RELATIONS GIMMICK, BUT A
SERIOUS ATTEMPT TO FIND STILL ANOTHER WAY--ALONG WITH
ELECTIONS, A FREE PRESS, FREE POLITICAL PARTIES, DEFENSE
OF THE RIGHTS OF DISSIDENTS, ETC.--TO INVOLVE THE AMERI-
CAN PEOPLE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. IT IS NOT JUST FOR
THE GOOD OF THE PEOPLE THAT WE DO THIS--IT IS FOR THE GOOD
OF THE GOVERNING ELITES. IT IS A GOOD EXPERIENCE TO BE
ASKED A QUESTION YOU CAN'T ANSWER BY A WORKING MAN, AND TO
HAVE TO DEFEND YOUR PROGRAMS TO A SECRETARY, OR A DENTIST.
WE BELIEVE ANY HEALTHY SOCIETY WILL ALWAYS BE WORKING TO
BECOME MORE OPEN, AND MORE DEMOCRATIC, AND WE BELIEVE
THAT, IS AS TRUE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY, AND OF
EUROPE, AS IT IS OF OUR SOCIETY. SO, WE HOPE FOR MORE
DEBATE, NOT LESS. WE ARE NOT AFRAID OF DISAGREEMENTS--IF
THEY ARE HONEST, AND CARRIED ON WITH RESPECT BY BOTH SIDES.
AND, I HOPE, WE ARE NOT AFRAID TO BE CONVINCED THAT WE
ARE WRONG, AND, SO CHANGE OUR POSITION--WHEN CONVINCED.

IT IS STILL TRUE TODAY, AS IT WAS AT THE FOUNDING OF
THE UNITED STATES, THAT GOVERNMENTS DERIVE THEIR JUST
POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED. ULTIMATELY,
LEGITIMATE AUTHORITY MUST BE DERIVED FROM THE PEOPLE
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SPEAKING FREELY ON THEIR OWN BEHALF. POWER AND AUTHORITY

IN SOCIETY ARE ESTABLISHED FINALLY UPON REASON AND RESPECT FOR DISSENT, AND NOT UPON FORCE AND INTIMIDATION. IN THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY, AS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE, IT IS NECESSARY TO SEEK CONSTANTLY TO BE MORE DEMOCRATIC, OR RUN THE RISK OF LOSING WHAT FREEDOM WE HAVE. DEMOCRACY MUST BE DYNAMIC, I CANNOT LIVE IN STAGNATION.

FIFTHLY, AND THE BASIC PRIORITY AS I SEE IT IS TO BRING THE PEOPLE INTO THE ECONOMIC PROCESS, AS WELL AS THE POLITICAL PROCESS. THIS MEANS, QUITE SIMPLY, EXPANSION OF THE DOMESTIC MARKETS, AND CONCENTRATION ON BASIC HUMAN NEEDS EVEN IF IT MIGHT MEAN SOME CURTAILMENT OF LUXURY GOODS. I BELIEVE IN THAT OLD SAYING, THAT THE REAL REVOLUTION OCCURS WHEN EVERYONE HAS BEEN COOPTED INTO THE SYSTEM. THAT IS, GIVE EVERYONE A STAKE IN SOCIETY AND YOU WILL HAVE A HEALTHY SOCIETY, BECAUSE ALL WILL FEEL RESPONSIBLE FOR IT. ON THAT DAY WHEN EVERY PERSON IS PAID A REASONABLE WAGE FOR A SOCIALLY USEFUL JOB, THE NEED FOR REVOLUTION WILL BEGIN TO DISAPPEAR.

SOME PEOPLE HAVE TOLD ME THAT I AM TOO OPTIMISTIC BECAUSE THE POLITICAL MOVEMENT OUT OF WHICH I CAME -- THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT HEADED BY THE LATE DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., -- JUST HAPPENED TO BE LUCKY, AND BESIDES OUR EXPERIENCE IS NOT TRANSLATABLE INTO INTERNATIONAL TERMS. I KNOW THAT MUCH OF WHAT WE DID AND EXPERIENCED IS NOT RELEVANT, BUT A LOT OF IT MAY BE, TOO. AT LEAST, WE ARE A SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENT -- WE FREED LOT OF PEOPLE -- AND SINCE THERE AREN'T TOO MANY SUCH MOVEMENTS AROUND, IT WON'T HURT TO STUDY FOR IDEAS ANY OF THESE MOVEMENTS THAT HAD SOME SUCCESS.

ONE OF THE THINGS WE LEARNED WAS THAT CIVIL RIGHTS WEREN'T ENOUGH. WE HAD TO STRUGGLE TO GET OUR PEOPLE

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SOME ECONOMIC POWER, TOO. IF THEY JUST HAD THE RIGHT TO VOTE, BUT WERE STILL POOR, THEY WERE STILL AT THE MERCY OF POWERFUL AND SOMETIMES HIDDEN ECONOMIC ELITES. THIS IS TRUE, I BELIEVE, IN EVERY SOCIETY, NO MATTER WHAT KIND OF POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC SYSTEM IT HAS. BUT ONCE YOU HAD A FAIR WAGE, AND A JUST TAX SYSTEM, THEN THE POOR WERE PROTECTED, AND WERE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN SOCIETY, AND THEIR PARTICIPATION MADE FOR A HEALTHIER AND MORE DYNAMIC SOCIETY. THAT WAS OUR EXPERIENCE, AND I BELIEVE IN IT.

I COME TO THIS CONFERENCE BEARING NEITHER A NEW SLOGAN NOR A BASKET FULL OF GIFTS. BUT I DO NOT COME EMPTY-

HANDED. I COME WITH THE PROMISE OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES TO WORK WITH YOU -- AND TO WORK HARD -- TO FIND WAYS OF UNITING OUR COMMON LOVE FOR FREEDOM AND JUSTICE WITH OUR GREAT NEED FOR MORE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. I BELIEVE THAT YOU WANT IT THIS WAY. THERE HAVE BEEN PLENTY OF PROMISES IN THE PAST, SOMETIMES WITH A POOR PERFORMANCE RECORD. NOW IS THE

TIME TO TAKE THE FULL MEASURE OF OUR PROBLEMS, AND OUR RESOURCES, MATERIAL AND HUMAN, AND THEN TO ATTACK OUR PROBLEMS TOGETHER, IN A SYSTEMATIC AND RATIONAL WAY.

NEITHER WILL I LEAVE THIS CONFERENCE OF ECLA EMPTY-HANDED. I HAVE DISCOVERED HERE THE SAME WILLINGNESS TO ADMIT THE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS WE FACE THAT I HAVE URGED UPON US. I HAVE DISCOVERED, TO MY IMMENSE SATISFACTION, THAT YOUR HUNGER AND THIRST FOR JUSTICE AS WELL AS GROWTH IS REAL, AND GREAT. IT WILL BE MY PLEASURE, MR. CHAIRMAN, TO REPORT TO PRESIDENT CARTER THAT WE ARE READY TO WORK TOGETHER TO FIND THAT NEW UNITY AND THAT NEW HOPE THAT WILL BE BORN BY BRINGING TOGETHER SOCIAL JUSTICE WITH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

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